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NATIONAL WAR FRONT BUREAU

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The Editor will gratefully receive contributions, in English or Tamil, of articles on matters of *National War Front interest*, and publish them, if suitable, as signed articles, in the Bulletin. The articles should be short and reach the Editor a week in advance.

'POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION'

—*See Page 18.*

LECTURE CCXXV.

WAGING PEACE.

(*Wickham Steed, Nov. 11, 1944*).

British public attention has now concentrated on two main issues. The first is the speedy winning of the war. The second is co-operation for peace and reconstruction, including social peace and reconstruction in Britain.

Britain's Air Minister has stated that the war is going well, and that the "German beast" is desperate. This is the time, he added, for a supreme effort to finish the European war. He expected Germany to produce new weapons, less militarily futile than the flying bomb. The Allies, he said, have hitherto surprised and surpassed the Germans with new inventions and will give them more surprises, but they must now break German resistance rapidly.

While Britain's Air Minister was speaking, 5,000 Allied aircraft were continuing the mass offensive against German communications and war industries. This offensive remains for the present the foremost of operations on the Western front. It is almost surely preparing the way for a tremendous land-offensive.

Desperately though the Germans have fought to hold the approaches to the port of Antwerp, all those approaches are now lost. Through Antwerp supplies will soon

flow in vast quantities to complete the huge stocks already accumulated for a decisive action against Western Germany.

The Russian armies on the east and in Hungary are likewise exerting severe pressure on German defences. Whether or not German resistance is finally broken in 1944, the end cannot be long delayed, and for this reason British attention focusses upon what President Roosevelt has called the "waging of peace" no less than upon the approaching end of war. British opinion agrees heartily with President Roosevelt's statement that peace must be "waged" by the major Allies in association with the United Nations, an association constantly growing.

Between Britain and Russia, co-operation will be close and lasting. British opinion welcomes Marshal Stalin's anniversary address to the Soviet Union. Since Britain and Russia will be the most influential of the European Allies, they will be chiefly and jointly responsible for framing and fixing the character of peace in Europe. British views upon Russian policy are therefore important.

Competent British observers are convinced that Russia has no expansive designs beyond her own borders in Europe. Like Britain, Russia demands security against a future war. As Britain, has long regarded North-Western Europe, especially Holland and Belgium, as a region which must be preserved from domination by any great Continental Power, so Russia demands security on her western frontiers, and the friendly independence of her smaller western neighbours.

Russia and Britain will share, as they hope the United States will also share, in preserving the whole of Europe from future aggression. They will agree upon the treatment of Germany, whom they will disarm and keep disarmed militarily, and as regards war-industries also economically.

No fear is felt in any responsible British quarter that Russia will attempt to promote Communism throughout Europe. Yet it is also felt that the profound social and economic changes that have occurred in Western Europe, including Britain, during this war must be reflected in social and economic policies, which will abolish unemployment, foster efficiency and improve standards of life.

No British effort will be made to restore the conditions that prevailed between 1919 and 1939. The recent debate in the House of Commons, upon the Government's scheme for social insurance and freedom from want, revealed intense earnestness, and great unanimity among all Parties upon the realisation of this beneficent reform without avoidable delay.

Thus, the concentration of British attention upon winning the War speedily in Europe, and upon Allied co-operation for peace, is linked with the determination to set a good example in social reconstruction at home. The task of "waging peace" internationally and socially lies ahead. The British people are convinced that this task can be—and are resolved that it shall be—successfully discharged.

WEEKLY WAR SUMMARY.

(A)—LEADING EVENTS.

14—11—44 (Tuesday).	British start a new offensive in *HOLLAND* west of the *MAAS*.
	Allies encircle *BHAMO* in Burma.
15—11—44 (Wednesday).	Allies capture *KALEMYO* in Burma.
	Americans land on *MAPIA* Island off New Guinea.
16—11—44 (Thursday).	Allied 5th Army in Italy takes *MODIGLIANO*.
17—11—44 (Friday).	Allies advance all along the Western Front.
18—11—44 (Saturday).	Polish troops enter *MONTE FORTINO* in *ITALY*.
19—11—44 (Sunday).	British troops occupy *GEILENKIRCHEN* in Germany.
	Red Army occupies *GYOENGYOES* N. E. of *BUDAPEST*.
20—11—44 (Monday).	Chinese troops occupy *BHAMO* in Burma.
	French troops break through the *BELFORT* Gap and capture the town of *BELFORT*.

(B) NEWS IN BRIEF.

THE WESTERN FRONT.—

(1) Six Allied Armies are now fighting on this front, excluding the Canadian troops engaged on the coast. Four of them are on German soil. During the week, the British Second Army launched its offensive inside GERMANY and captured GEILENKIRCHEN. Two new armies, the U. S. 9th and the French 1st, have joined in the general assault. Allied troops are on the Rhine, and have reached the Saar valley. BELFORT has been freed, and all resistance has ended in Metz. The Germans are retreating in the EINDHOVEN—VENLOO sector in HOLLAND, from the Lorraine Plain and the Vosges sector. The province of ALSACE has been virtually liberated.

(2) Dempsey's new offensive between VENLOO and ROERMOND is going well. In the course of the operations HORU, BAEXAM, HEVTHIVIJZEN, GRATHAM, WESSEN and BUGGEMUM have fallen.

(3) Among the places captured by the American armies are PUFFENDORF, MARIANDORF, WURSELEN, REMELING, STUCKERANGE, PERI, OBER, SCHENDORF, MERSCHWEILLAR, RITZING and ESCHWEILER.

(4) The French have captured MONTEBELLIARD, HEGENHEIM, CARNAY and THAN, in addition to BELFORT and MULHOUSE, STRASBOURG has been entered.

ON THE EASTERN FRONT.—

The battle before BUDAPEST which has died down from east to south has veered round to the north-east of the city. The Red Army has captured GYOENGYOES, north-east of BUDAPEST.

The Russians have broken through in the OESEL (SAARA MAA) Island in the Gulf of Riga.

Albania.—TIRANA, the capital has been liberated.

Italy.—Allied armies are advancing on RAVENNA and BOLOGNA.

Monte San BARTOLO, CONVERSELLE, MODIGLIANA and GOLFARA have been liberated.

The Pacific.—American troops have landed on MATTHEW Island and invaded MAPIA (St. David) Island, both off NEW GUINEA.

They have also recaptured NGEREGONG Island in the PALAU Group.

The battle of LEYTE in the PHILIPPINES has been bogged down by a tropical typhoon. The fighting is now concentrated at LIMON.

Burma.—The latest news from BURMA dated Nov. 20 gives the following details :—

(1) **N. Burma.** Chinese troops have entered BHAMO.

(2) **Chindwin front.** East African troops have cleared the west bank of the Paluzava River.

(3) **Arakan.** Japanese positions near BUTHIDAUNG were shelled.

(4) **Kaladan Valley.** Operations continue round PALETWA.

China.—The Japanese have captured LUCHOW, and ISHEN, in the province of KWANGSI, S. CHINA.

ALLIED AIR-RAIDS.

12—11—44. (Sunday).

GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.

DAY:—

Strong points, gun-positions, tanks, troop concentrations and **motor transport** in battle areas.

Rail bridges at SINCZIG, FUSKIRKTHEN and MAYEN.

Rail targets around GEILENKIRCHEN, TRIER and COLOGNE.

Transportation targets in HOLLAND.

German battle-ship "TIRPITZ" at TROMSO FJORD in Norway (sunk).

Rail bridges on the BRENNER PASS Line.

Military objectives in Northern ITALY and PO Valley.

Transport targets in ALBANIA and YUGOSLAVIA.

Air-combats and grounded aircraft all along the Eastern Front.

FAR EAST.

Installations at RABAUL (N. Britain), NEW IRELAND and south of BUKA.

Supply dumps in the WEWAK area.

BURMA.

A large locomotive shelter and rivercraft near THAZI.

Stores, rolling-stock and boats between LASHIO and MANKAT, and the river between SINGU and KATHA.

Marshalling-yards at KINU.

13—11—44. (Monday).

GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.

DAY:—

Troop concentrations and gun-positions in battle areas.

Bridges, roads and rail trafic in the PO Valley.

Shipping in the ADRIATIC.

Communications in YUGOSLAVIA.

Air-combats all along the Russian Front (21 enemy planes shot down).

FAR EAST.

Offensive patrols over the VISAYAS in the Philippines (16 Jap planes destroyed).

A freighter off TALAWAN.

BURMA.

Bridges on the BURMA-SIAM railway.

Enemy positions in the CHINDWIN region.

A locomotive near SHWEBO.

A power-plant and barracks north-east of SE-EN.

The airfields at KAWLIN and NAWNGKHIO.

Bridges on the BURMA-SIAM railway between PEGU and MARTABAN.

14—11—44 (Tuesday).

GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.

DAY:—

Strong points and gun-positions on the Western Front in EUROPE.

Communications and other targets in N. ITALY.

Enemy shipping off NORWAY.

Enemy positions on the west bank of the DANUBE in Hungary.

Air-combats and grounded aircraft all along the Eastern Front.

FAR EAST.

No information.

BURMA.

Airfields near RANGOON.

The railway-yards at YWATAUNG.

River transport in Central BURMA.

4 bridges south-east of KALEWA.
Barges in the Gulf of MARTABAN.
Stores area at KAWLIN.
Airfields at ONBAUK.

15—11—44 (Wednesday).

GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.

DAY :—

Targets in AUSTRIA and YUGOSLAVIA.
Military objectives in the ITALIAN battle area and in ALBANIA.
Shipping in the ADRIATIC.
German positions in the PO Valley including the BOLOGNA battle area.
Air-combats and grounded aircraft all along the Eastern Front.

NIGHT :—

Targets in BERLIN.

FAR EAST.

Airfields in the PHILIPPINES area and in the S. W. PACIFIC.
A coastal freighter near TIMOR, and another off MINDANAO.

BURMA.

Enemy positions in the ARAKAN.
Enemy strong points and other targets near KALEWA.
Jap gun-positions and other military targets inside BHAMO.

16—11—44 (Thursday).

GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.

DAY :—

Transportation targets and gun-positions in the THIONVILLE area.
A synthetic oil-plant at DORTMUND.
Targets in the BRENNER PASS.
Railways in N. ITALY.
Enemy communications in the PO Valley.
A railway bridge across the River PO.
Air-combats and grounded aircraft all along the Eastern Front (44 enemy planes destroyed).

FAR EAST.

Japanese installations in the WEWAK area.
Jap shipping off LEYTE.
Jap positions on ORMOC BAY in Leyte (Philippines).
Targets on the BANGKOK–CHIENGMAI railway.

BURMA.

Enemy positions in the ARAKAN.
Gun-positions bunkers, and riverside targets in the CHINDWIN region.
Installations in the Port of MERGUI (Burma).

17—11—44. (Friday).

GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.

DAY :—

Troops, gun-positions and communications in the GEILENKIRCHEN area.
Strong-points, field batteries and ack-ack guns in the AACHEN area.
The towns of DUREN, JULICH and HEINSBERG.
Railway targets in the vinicity of COLOGNE.
Communication targets in N. ITALY.
Rail targets in N. ITALY.
Targets in S. GERMANY, AUSTRIA, HUNGARY and YUGOSLAVIA.
Air-combats and grounded aircraft all along the Eastern Front.

NIGHT :—

A German convoy off NORWAY.
Laying mines in enemy coastal waters.

FAR EAST.

Jap naval base at BRUNEI BAY.
Jap shipping off SANDAKAN and TARAKAN.
A Jap freighter and barges off MACASSAR (Celebes).

BURMA.

4 bridges near KALEWA.
Airfields at ANISAKAN and NAWNGHKIO.
Rolling-stock and buildings between HSIPAW and SEDAW.

18—11—44. (Saturday).

GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.

DAY :—

The rail and communication centre of MUNSTER.
Oil-storage dumps, airfields and other military targets in the MUNICH and ULM areas.
Airfields in the MUNICH, LEIPHEIM, AUGSBURG and MENGEN areas.
Military objectives in the VIENNA area (Austria).
Railway-yards at MARIBOR (Yugoslavia).
Targets in SILESIA and W. HUNGARY.
German communications in N. ITALY.
Air-combats and grounded aircraft all along the Eastern Front (19 German aircraft shot down).

NIGHT :—

A synthetic oil-plant at WANNE EICKEL (Germany).

FAR EAST.

No information.

BURMA.

A power station at KYAIKTHIN and PYINTHA.
Gun-positions and buildings at HSUN HASI airfield.
Barracks and stores at KANBALU.
A factory and rivercraft between PEGU and MARTABAN.
The railway bridge at MYITTHA.
Motor vehicles on the road to KALEWA.
Factories at TONBO.
An enemy camp in MYITTHA Valley.

ENEMY AIR-RAIDS.

13—11—44 (Monday).

BRITAIN.

Places in Southern ENGLAND including LONDON area.

RUSSIA.

No enemy air activity.

FAR EAST.

Shippings and ground installations on LEYTE in the Philippines (9 Jap planes shot down).

14—11—44. (Tuesday).

BRITAIN.

Places in Southern ENGLAND.

RUSSIA and FAR EAST.

No enemy air activity.

15—11—44. (Wednesday).

BRITAIN.

No information.

RUSSIA.

No enemy air activity.

FAR EAST.

Allied positions on LEYTE in the (Philippines).

16—11—44. (Thursday).

BRITAIN, RUSSIA and FAR EAST.

No enemy air activity.

17—11—44. (Friday).
BRITAIN, RUSSIA and FAR EAST.
No enemy air activity.

18—11—44. (Saturday).
BRITAIN, RUSSIA and FAR EAST.
No enemy air activity.

19—11—44. (Sunday).
BRITAIN.
Places in Southern ENGLAND.

RUSSIA and FAR EAST.
No enemy air activity.

SIDE LIGHTS.

ON THE WESTERN FRONT, seven Allied armies are battling. Four of them have already crossed the frontier and are fighting on German soil. These operations which extend from the North Sea to SWITZERLAND are carried on in appalling weather, in knee-deep mud and waist-deep water, in the slush and sloughs of Lower Rhineland, Alsace and LORRAINE. The delay while supplies were built up for the Allies, has enabled the enemy to reorganise his armies driven out of FRANCE and BELGIUM, and to strengthen his defences. No doubt his intention is to sell space for time, to wage a battle to death. For this purpose his suicide-squads are fighting hard, with no other hope than to fight and die.

These operations, though not rapid and spectacular like those that led to the liberation of FRANCE and BELGIUM, have already yielded substantial dividends. The Scheldt, the Walcheren and the Bergen-Op-Zoom areas have been cleared, with the result that a free flow of supplies has been secured from the great port of ANTWERP.

Also, the Allied flank in N. HOLLAND is being cleared,—an operation vitally necessary to further advance. What East PRUSSIA is to the eastern Front that N. HOLLAND is to the western. Both east and west the flanks which the enemy holds must be cleared, to avoid a repetition of the disaster of the Battle of the Masurian Lakes which overtook the Russians in 1914. Now on the Western Front, the Germans are clinging desperately to N. HOLLAND, in the vain hope of hindering the Anglo-American advance.

The present Allied tactics on this front are not dissimilar to the earlier Russian device of striking at multiple points, to surprise the enemy and finally, to hit him hard where he is weakest. For this purpose, six out of the seven armies are arrayed on the German border or just inside it, while the 7th which is the Canadian 1st Army, covers the approaches to ANTWERP and the left flank of the Allies. Four of the remaining six armies are already fighting on German soil. At the north end of the line is the British 2nd Army under Genl. Dempsey, pushing the enemy over the Maas, east of ENDHOVEN. It has invaded GERMANY, from LIMBURG, a Dutch Province. Genl. Simpson's U. S. 9th Army which has suddenly emerged is striking next below and north of AACHEN, in co-operation with Hodges' U. S. 1st Army attacking east and south of AACHEN. Farther south, in the METZ-NANCY area in LORRAINE, Genl. Patton's U. S. 3rd is pushing towards the Saar; and Genl. Patch's U. S. 7th is striking through the VOSGES. At the southern end, the newly formed French Army is battling its way through the Belfort Gap.

Important gains have been reported. The British 2nd Army has captured GEILENKIRCHEN. The U. S. 9th has reached the Roer River. The U. S. 1st is driving towards DUREN. The U. S. 3rd has crossed the frontier in the THIONVILLE area and has captured the great fortress of METZ. The U. S. 7th, in conjunction with U. S. 3rd is now holding

a front of 11 miles inside GERMANY. The French Army has taken the Alsace city of Mulhouse and entered STRASBOURG; Alsace has been virtually liberated.

These operations, though important, do not constitute a break-through however. The Allies are still far from the real core of German resistance—vaguely called the Western Wall, which may be on the Siegfried Line, or the Rhine. The hour has not yet struck for a break-through.

But one thing is now certain. Whenever that grand assault comes, it will be the Allied and not the German Command that will determine the place where the decisive battle is fought. Meanwhile, the Allied offensives along the entire front strain the *Wehrmacht* to the utmost, consume its strength and use up its reserve, while the place where the final blows will be delivered is kept carefully concealed. The German strategy of selling space for time cannot be continued much longer. The enemy has been cornered, 'boxed up', as the phrase goes. If he is going 'to sell' any more space, it must be the Ruhr and the Rhineland, his great industrial regions.

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Hitler. What has gone wrong with Hitler we do not know, but that something is wrong with him is evident. Some think he is mad, some ill, and some that he is dead. Himmler's declarations of late refer to the event of Hitler's death. A Nazi spokesman recently said, 'It is our holiest duty to remember our Fuehrer. The hours of remembrance for our dead comrades is the hour of communion with our Fuehrer'.

Himmler has been appointed Deputy Fuehrer in the place of Bormann, and nominated Hitler's successor also. This appointment, we are told, was announced at the Chancellory in BERLIN, during a meeting of the leaders of the Nazi Party. But strange to say, Hitler did not make the announcement himself, but sent his 'proclamation' through the Head of the Nazi Party. Perhaps more is happening behind the scenes than has been revealed. But whether Hitler be alive or dead, it is clear that, if alive, he has ceased to be the power that he was, and if he dead, Nazism has also received its death-blow.

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THE EASTERN FRONT. At the northern end of the front, the situation has greatly improved with the sinking of the *Tirpitz* by the R. A. F. With its disappearance, and with the launching of Russian torpedo offensives in the Baltic, the German position in Northern NORWAY has become untenable.

At the southern end, the attack on BUDAPEST, the Hungarian capital continues.

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THE OPERATIONS IN ITALY are bound to be slow, what with the weather and the removal of part of the Allied forces to another theatre. Nevertheless the 8th Army is pushing steadily towards RAVENNA and BOLOGNA.

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IN THE BALKANS, the fall of SKOPLJE and TIRANA, capitals, respectively, of MACEDONIA and ALBANIA are conspicuous events.

Indian troops have now arrived in GREECE, to assist in the restoration of this country.

The BALKANS will take some time to settle down. Liberation has brought political freedom as well as political intrigue; it has unleashed political passions in RUMANIA, BULGARIA, YUGOSLAVIA and GREECE.

RUMANIA, the victim of four years of Antonescue dictatorship, is indulging in an orgy of party politics. At BUCHAREST new parties are springing like mushrooms, and the talk all over the country is of politics.

BULGARIA, now the repentant child of the BALKANS, on the other hand, seems to be making serious endeavours to build up Balkan co-operation. She has entered into an agreement with Tito, and is prepared to redress the wrongs she did to GREECE. Nazi-devastated GREECE needs food first: her politics can wait.

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ON LEYTE ISLAND, in the PHILIPPINES, the battle of ORMOC is proceeding.

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JAPANESE BRUTALITY. The following extract is from the report that Sir James Grigg, War Minister made to the Parliament on Nov. 17, on the terrible conditions of British and Australian prisoners held by the Japanese in BURMA, SIAM, MALAYA and the E. INDIES:—

"Some 150 survivors from a sunk Japanese transport, carrying U. K. and Australian prisoners of war from Singapore to Japan, have now reached this country. The results of the preliminary examination of the men gives at last a first-hand account of the way our men were treated in the southern areas of the Far East, and there is now no longer any doubt about the policy which was pursued by the Japanese military authorities towards Allied prisoners of war in these areas, which include Burma, Siam, Malaya and the E. Indies.

"A great majority of the prisoners in Singapore and Java appear to have been moved early in 1942 to Burma or Siam. Australians were sent by sea to Burma, crowded into ships holds, which had been horizontally sub-divided, so that the ceilings were no more than 4 feet high. Prisoners from the U. K. were sent by rail to Siam, so crowded into trucks that they could not even lie down during the journey. They were then marched some 80 miles. This, and subsequent movements in Burma, or Siam, appear to have been on foot, regardless of the distance, the weather, or the prisoners' state of health. United Kingdom prisoners were then set to work on the construction of a railway through primitive and disease-infested jungle, passing over the mountain range between Siam and Burma to meet the Burmese end of the railway, on the construction of which the Australians were engaged in similar country.

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TERRIBLE CONDITIONS. "The conditions under which all these men lived and worked were terrible, even for the natives of the country, who also were forcibly employed on the same work. Such accommodation as was provided gave little or no protection against tropical rains or blazing sun. Worn out clothing was not replaced. Soon many lacked clothing, boots, and head-covering. The only food provided was a pannikin of rice and about half a pint, or less, of watery stew three times a day. But the work had to go on without respite, whatever the cost in human suffering or life. The inevitable result was an appalling death-rate, the lowest estimate of death being one in five.

When the railway was finished about October 1943, those not needed for maintenance work were moved to camps in Siam out of the jungle, and here the conditions

were less intolerable. From these camps the fittest were later sent to Singapore en route to Japan.

The rescued men were on the ship which left Singapore early in September, 1944. There were probably 1,300 U. K. and Australian prisoners of war on board.

After she was sunk, the Japanese deliberately picked up all Japanese survivors, but left the prisoners to their fate, and a great majority of them were drowned".

HITLER'S RHINE DEFENCES.

By F. O. Miksche
(*From the Manchester Guardian.*)

Considered critically, whatever possibilities the Germans still have of holding up the further advance of the Allies in the west, their natural line of defence without a doubt lies along the Rhine. This broad stream bars the entrance to the interior of Germany all the way from the Swiss frontier to its delta in Holland. In front of it extends a fore-field studded with obstacles such as the Vosges, the Hunsruck and Eifel Mountains, the rivers Moselle and Meuse. Towards the north, this difficult country has been skilfully utilised by the Siegfried Line.

Nevertheless, the Germans will find themselves in a precarious position if the Allied advance follows up closely enough, especially if they want to keep their main forces on the western bank of the river. Altogether there are 25 bridges across the Rhine, which are extremely vulnerable from the air. The German divisions could easily be caught in the same situation as their comrades of the Seventh Army south of the Seine.

Whether the Siegfried Line is fortified in a manner equal to present-day demands, or constructed in sufficient depth to withstand co-ordinated attacks from tanks, heavy artillery, and concentrated air bombardment, is not very important from a strategic point of view. For the Germans can make their last stand only on the Rhine, where they have immediately at their backs the natural support of the Black Forest, Odenwald, and Taunus ranges. In addition, there are strong points.

One of the strongest and most modern is the Isteiner Klotz, situated in the south near Basle, and guarding the Burgundian Gate. It consists of a mountain height dominating the plain of the Rhine, thoroughly mined and bristling with heavy artillery. Together with the thickly wooded mountains of the Black Forest, rising steeply to 4,500 feet, it constitutes an obstacle which can almost completely block any operation designed to roll up the front from the south along the Rhine. Other strong points are Rastatt, Mainz, Koblenz, Wesel and, of course, the crest ranges immediately behind them, 3,000 feet high in places, are fully exploited.

The situation is different in regard to outflanking in the north. At first it seemed as though the obstacle of the Rhine delta, almost impassable with its many channels, gave the Germans a natural defence. Recent events, however, have shown that modern military technique is capable in certain circumstances of rapidly surmounting obstacles which formerly caused considerable delay.

So far as an Allied advance into the North German plain in the direction of the Weser, Bremen, Hamburg, and Hanover, outflanking the Rhine position, is concerned, the obstacles, apart from the rivers Jude and Ems and numerous canals, are chiefly the extensive, difficult, marshy country of the Bourlanger moor and other depressions. It is possible that the Germans have already prepared to flood them. In any event, recent reports, indicating the preparation of a defence line some distance behind the Rhine,

running along the Weser and across the Main near Aschaffenburg to the Neckar, are interesting.

However difficult this seems, every such front, whether on the Rhine or farther east, is about 500 miles long. To man it adequately would require a large number of divisions. Possibly the Germans intend to dispose their forces so that the different gaps, such as the valley of the Neckar, or Napoleon's classic invasion route on the Main, or the less protected sector in the north, are manned in greater force, and to rely on the difficulties of the forests and mountains elsewhere. Nevertheless, their forces will not counterbalance the superior forces of the Allies.

DOCTORATE FOR HIMMLER !

DEAN'S DILEMMA.

(*By Victor Schiff, from the Daily Herald*).

Here is the latest joke said to be whispered around Germany about ex-school-teacher Heinrich Himmler coming to be Number 1 Nazi.

Dr. Goebbels recently summoned the Dean of Berlin University and told him : "Herr Professor, the Fatherland is going to need more than ever before the services of Reich-Fuehrer S. S. Himmler. The trouble is that he is not very popular with our intelligentsia. Something must be done to increase his authority among the educated people. What about conferring upon him the title of Honorary Doctor of the University of Berlin ?"

The Dean scratched his head and replied : "Well, if it must be for the sake of the Fatherland, I will see to it. But he will have to appear before a Committee of Professors and answer one or two questions—just a little formality."

So Himmler went to the University, and was respectfully received by the Committee presided over by the Dean. The chosen question was one which could be answered easily by any German schoolboy conversant with Schiller's drama about Wallenstein, a war-lord of the Thirty Years War—300 years ago—who revolted against the Emperor of Austria, and was finally murdered by the rebel generals at his headquarters.

"Who murdered Wallenstein, Herr Reichs-Fuehrer ?" the Dean asked.

Himmler pulled a wry face, thought deeply and finally answered : "I can assure you, Herr Professor, I had nothing to do with it. Nor had any of my people, as far as I can tell you off-hand."

The Dean thanked him with some embarrassment, and went to see Hermann Goering to whom he said : "You see, Herr Reichs-Marshal, I was perfectly willing to do my best. But how can I give the title of Honorary Doctor to a man who assures me he had nothing to do with the murder of Wallenstein ?"

"If Heinrich Himmler assures you he had nothing to do with it, you may take it for granted", Goering replied most emphatically. "He is not the man to shirk any responsibility".

So the Dean, still more depressed, asked Adolf Hitler for an audience and for advice.

Hitler listened carefully to the Dean's story and then decided : "Well, what about it ? Whether or not he killed that old Jew—who cares anyway ?"

BRITAIN'S WORLD WIDE COMMAND OF SEA.

By Brian Tunstall.

(1) EPIC OF WALCHEREN LANDINGS.

The landing of British infantry and Royal Marine commandos on Walcheren Island from naval assault-craft, covered by supporting vessels of the Royal Navy, has supplied

one of the most stirring stories of the war. These landings have for their object the destruction of artillery positions on the island, with which the Germans have hitherto been able to block the passage of the Scheldt, and so prevent the Allies from using the great port of Antwerp. Although Antwerp itself has been in Allied hands for over eight weeks, German resistance on Walcheren has been extremely stubborn, despite heavy attacks by the R. A. F. and attacks along the connecting causeway from South Beveland by Canadian land forces.

Antwerp, in pre-war terms of annual tonnage clearances, is the second greatest port in the world, and its use is essential to the vigorous prosecution of the war on the Western Front. The Germans knew this well, and despite the floods caused by R. A. F. bombing of the sea walls, which enabled the assault craft to navigate overland amongst semi-submerged houses and trees, they were able to make first-class use of positions admirably suited to defensive fighting. Only now, with the story of heavy casualties inflicted on British assault forces both before and after the landing, and the difficulties of fighting over mud, sand dunes, dykes and canals cleverly utilised for defence, can we appreciate the difficulties and achievements of British sea and land forces.

The naval assault force, some 200 vessels under Capt. A. F. Pugsley, R. N., was supported by *H. M. S. Warspite*, one of Britain's most famous battleships, together with the monitors *Roberts* and *Erebus*. The main support, however, was provided at close range by gun and rocket-firing L. C. F's (Landing Craft Flak), L. C. G's (Landing Craft Gun) and L. C. S's (Landing Craft Supply). These vessels drew the fire of German heavy coastal artillery, with the result that four-fifths of them were lost or seriously damaged. Nevertheless, the landing forces, pushing through knee-deep mud on the west and south-west part of the island in face of very heavy fire, succeeded in capturing Domburg, Westkapelle and the famous port of Flushing.

Bad weather and howling winds, besides hindering ship movements and preventing preliminary air bombardment, made things particularly uncomfortable for the assaulting forces, after wading waist deep through the sea to reach the shore. There is no doubt that in future years these combined operations against Walcheren will be regarded as one of the most famous of Britain's many exploits in the Rhine delta, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth onwards.

(2) RUSSIAN CONVOY SUCCESS.

The second impressive example of the way in which Britain is exercising command over the sea routes to supply the armies of the United Nations on the continent of Europe is provided by the latest Russian convoy story. A large and important convoy proceeding from Britain to North Russia and home again under the protection of Britain's Home Fleet and escort aircraft-carriers, made the double journey without damage to any of the merchantships, despite attempted U-boat attacks. In various operations, all of which took place inside the Arctic Circle, three German U-boats were destroyed, several others were damaged, and a German shadowing aircraft was shot down. Swordfish and rocket-firing Hurricanes from the escort carriers *Vindex* and *Striker* carried out the attacks, together with destroyers, sloops and frigates. Vice Admiral F. H. G. Dalrymple Hamilton, C. B. commanded the operations with his flag in *H. M. S. Vindex*. The sloop *H. M. S. Kite* was lost.

In strong contrast with this major success comes the news that on the night of November 1, light coastal forces of the Royal Navy intercepted a strongly escorted German

coastal convoy off the Hook of Holland, and succeeded in torpedoing a medium supply-ship and inflicting damage on a number of other enemy ships. The British force lost no ships and had only one casualty.

(3) AEGEAN SUCCESSES.

Mr A. V. Alexander, Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty, has announced that British naval forces, including carrier-borne aircraft, commanded by Vice Admiral Sir Henry Rawlings, have been taking a vigorous part in harassing the German withdrawal from South Greece, and in assisting the landing of British forces and supplying both them and the civilian population in Greece and the Aegean Islands. In the course of six weeks, 31 enemy warships and transports have been sunk, in addition to 40 small craft. In addition, 16 warships and merchant ships and 15 small craft have been severely damaged.

Admiral Sir James Somerville has stated that the British Eastern Fleet has now established complete command over all waters of the Indian Ocean between Australia and the East coast of Africa.

Since the beginning of the war and up till the end of September, 1944, 10,600,000 British army personnel were moved by sea, with the loss of only 2,978 lives by enemy action. These remarkable figures show Britain's world-wide command of sea routes, both on the broad oceans and in narrow and coastal waters. The total figure for personnel means of course total man-voyages, and naturally, therefore, may include the same man more than once.

GRAND STRATEGY OF PEACE

MARSHAL STALIN'S MESSAGE

(*The Times*).

The words spoken by Marshal Stalin at the anniversary celebration in Moscow concern the fate of Europe.

On the day, which cannot now be far distant, when the last weapons of aggression are wrested from the hands of the rulers of Germany, the Soviet Union will stand invested by events with a position of authority on the Continent such as has not been seen since the Napoleonic times, and to the duration of which her inherent and potential strength forbids any limit to be set. There has been no sign of desire to convert this proved authority into domination, or to use it for the subversion of social order in other lands.

The essential message of Marshal Stalin's speech was the consciousness and acceptance of the responsibility that necessarily attaches to a great Power. He places his country at the centre of that concert of world Powers on which general peace must henceforth depend. He bases his hopes of international co-operation in the future guidance of the world upon its proved success in the conduct of the grand strategy of a World War. In the same spirit of co-ordination that has enabled the Allies to reach their present commanding position, which holds the enemy in a military vice from which there is no escape, Marshal Stalin looks forward to their co-operation for the ends of peace. He sees before them after victory the discharge of a common duty, which is the direct continuation of that strategy—the disarming of the aggressor nation, and the taking of precautions with all necessary force behind them to ensure that the power of aggression shall not revive.

Marshal Stalin fully associates the Soviet Union with the agreement of the United Nations to set up after the war an international organisation, equipped by its members with force to make its will respected, for the maintenance of peace and the guidance of

international relations. He accepts in principle the provisional framework proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and although he does not suppose that in the work of constitution-making—as in future policies which that constitution is intended to serve—differences of view between the great Powers can be avoided, he has confidence in the capacity of reason and statesmanship to resolve them by the civilised way of discussion and compromise.

His vision of the prime essential of world-peace, for as long a period as this generation can foresee, is absolutely clear; it resides entirely in the ability of the three leading Powers among the United Nations to pursue a co-ordinated policy. He shares the confidense of his allies that they can do so, because " the alliance between U.S.S.R, Great Britain and the United States is founded—not on an accidental and transitory considerations—but on vitally important and long-term interests."

"BLOODLESS REVOLUTION FOR SPAIN."

REPUBLICANS' 6 POINT PROGRAMME.

(Daily Express).

The Spanish Republicans do not want vengeance. They want a bloodless revolution in their country.

The Toulouse Congress of Spanish Republicans adopted a six-point programme:

1. Breaking the ties between Spain and Germany, and adopting the Atlantic Charter.
2. Cleaning out public life.
3. Amnesty for Franco's political prisoners.
4. Restoration of essential rights.
5. Control of fortunes illegally made.
6. Free election of a Parliament, to which the Spanish Republicans in France would swear allegiance.

The Congress was attended by men of all parties and all religions.

General Fernandez, who worked with the Maquis all through the occupation, told *Combat* in a special interview: " We want at any price to avoid an incident which might be embarrassing for France. We are all working together—the Left and Right, Catholics, Socialists and Communists. After victory, all Spain must decide what she wants. If she wants a republic, it shall be a republic. If she wants a monarchy, it shall be a monarchy. We have all suffered enough. After France is finished, our first aim will not be to punish but to reconstruct the country devastated by Fascism and Germany's demands."

The Refugee Spanish Republican Union National Espagnola voted to-day to form an enlarged National Liberation Committee which, it hoped, would be recognised by the Allied Powers, just as they recognised the French National Committee in Algiers.

WHAT NEXT IN THE PACIFIC?

by Commander Kenneth Edwards.

(From the Daily Telegraph).

Never in naval history has the magnitude of the blunder of split forces been so demonstrated as it was recently in the Philippines area. Instead of striking in concentrated strength, the Japanese elected to try a three-fold attack by forces so widely

separated that they could not co-ordinate their movements or support one another. The result was the defeat of each.

One cannot help wondering why it was decided to try such an ill-founded gamble at that juncture. It was strategically unsound, and bore the stamp almost of desperation, so that one is forced to think that it was dictated by a power higher than the Japanese Naval Command—a power actuated by the realisation that the loss of "face" entailed in allowing the United Nations to gain a footing in strength in the Philippines might be irretrievable.

Admiral Nimitz has clearly stated his purpose. It is to open a direct sea-route to China, and then to strike at Tokyo. It would seem that the most profitable objective for his next move would be the big island of Hainan, which dominates the approaches to Haiphong and Hanoi, and would therefore open a direct route to South China. Hainan has been developed by the Japanese over a number of years, and has useful anchorages and airfields.

There has so far been no hint of British strategy, which will undoubtedly begin to unfold from the Indian Ocean in the near future. One cannot, however, ignore the recent actions in the Bay of Bengal directed against the Nicobars and Sabang, the Japanese base off the north-west point of Sumatra. A sustained British offensive in this area, coupled with a further advance to the west from the Philippines, would cut off from their homeland and from supplies all Japanese forces in Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, and would throw the enemy back almost upon his 1939 lines. If the Japanese have further frittered away their naval power, the United Nations will then be able to move against their islands without any great pause. If—on the other hand—their navy has been concentrated to stand between the Allies and the Japanese home-land and its vital lifeline to the mouth of the Yangtse, there will be a major naval action somewhere near Formosa. Of the outcome of such an action there can be no doubt, in view of the immense preponderance of force which British and American naval and air power will be able to bring to bear.

PAVING WAY FOR LAND OPERATIONS.

SECOND PHASE OF PACIFIC WAR.

(*Sunday Times*).

The naval victory in the Philippines is comparable in its effects with Trafalgar. Each battle shattered the enemy's last effort to maintain a fleet capable of offering a challenge in open waters. Each victory paves the way for Continental operations.

The second great phase of the Japanese war, which began in August 1942 with Allied offensives in the Solomons and New Guinea, will end with the reconquest of the Philippines, and will find the Americans firmly established a few hundred miles from the Asiatic mainland, 3,500 miles from the Gilberts, which was the farthest Japanese penetration eastward, and 7,000 miles from San Francisco, to which the outnumbered American fleet retired after Pearl Harbour.

The maintenance of the huge fleet, including 16 battleships and unnumbered carriers in the Philippines, is one of the war's most outstanding feats, and the size and scope of naval establishments that have been built up in far distant waters would be staggering, if known. Man-power difficulties attendant on this tremendous expansion have necessitated many ships being commissioned with a large proportion of inexperienced trainees, but the proof of the pudding is in the eating. The fact that the naval air arm aided by long-range bombers can overwhelm Japanese land-based forces on such a scale as to destroy

nearly 1,000 aircraft, which it did in the Formosa-Philippines-East Indies area before the landing, is a very hopeful pointer to the invasion of Japan, and it is becoming plainer every day that there is no possible kind of barrier the Japanese can put up that we cannot surmount.

I TALK WITH THE CHINDITS.

(*From the South Indian Bulletin*).

A large golden badge, worn on the right upper arm, is the only mark that distinguishes a Chindit from other troops. Evidence of their exploits is not to be found in a row of medal ribbons, and although many of them are entitled to the '39-'43 Star, it is seldom worn, for the idea of sharing this Active Service decoration with the heroes of Chowringhee, is, to the minds of these men, both cheap and distasteful. The Chindits are not marked by a particularly fine physique, as one might except in men of such fighting qualities, but in each one can be seen, whether Midlands farmer, Welsh miner or Cockney fruiterer, a wiry alertness reflecting an ability to undergo great hardship, nerves of steel that will continue to resist when all other physical strength is on the last lap. Perhaps they are distinguished from others by a quiet modesty, by a calmness which is given only to those whose experiences have carried them beyond the boundaries of reality, into a world where we, even in our imagination, cannot follow.

The men I talked with came from all parts of England, and from widely varied professions and occupations. A farmer, a brewer, a builder, a bus-driver, a school-master, a theological student, and one, a gentleman of private means. One characteristic was very noticeable in all of them. They were not men who had merely gone into a country, fought there, and come out again. They really knew the country, they had had to woo a pitiless and unrelenting jungle, and make it their friend, and in doing so had learnt not only the districts they traversed, but the peoples, their characteristics, tribal customs and history. Each man I met, had enough material and knowledge to write his own full-length book of reminiscences, but I doubt if any of them will ever commit his story to paper. They do, however, entertain a hope that the newspapers in Great Britain eventually will come to a livelier appreciation of their campaign, and cease to regard their war as one of secondary importance compared with other theatres of operations.

They told me how they would set out into the jungle, with food for so many days, and after that was finished they would have to rely on supplies being dropped by air. With simplicity they told of the occasions when they struggled on through impossible country to a spot where they were to receive an Air-drop, and how on reaching it they found the area shrouded in mist. It is not easy for us fully to understand the heartache, the despair they must have felt, on hearing the plane circling above them on three successive days, unable to see them, and unable to drop the food they needed so much. They described in terms of deepest admiration, the skill and daring of the pilots who brought their craft down to perilous heights in order to find them, and they described the time, when all eyes were fixed upon the plane which carried food, ammunition and clothing, all eyes waiting for the parachutes to open, waiting for one parachute, more important than all the others, one marked with a large red tag, carring the mail from home.

I wondered how this strange life of hardships, so different from anything they had ever known, was going to affect them when they returned to England, and lived an orderly peaceful civilian life again.

I asked the young theologian first "I am going back" he said, "to take on where I left off. Far from making me unfit for the life of a clergyman, I think my life and experiences during the past year, will prove an invaluable asset in my job. I have had an opportunity of learning more about my fellow men such as comes to few people, and I hope I can turn that to good advantage."

I turned to the schoolmaster:

"I am wondering how I can go back" he said, "I know very well that it will be impossible to take up my old life. I know very well too that I am not the same man that left England three years ago, and I foresee a long period of uncertainty and restlessness, before I can settle down. I can be thankful that I am not married, because—you know—we have all changed on this job. Some don't know it, and may go through the rest of their lives wondering why they can't settle down, and others recognize it, and take steps to deal with the situation. Even my friend here has changed", and he indicated the budding padre, "he doesn't think he has but I know he has. Fortunately the only difference it has made to him is that instead of becoming an indifferent curate, he will probably end up as an Archbishop."

I considered his words at some length, because he represented a type who will be extremely difficult to understand in future years. He may come through unwounded, untouched by illness, no psycho-analyst would say his nerve was shattered, in fact to all intents and purposes a perfectly normal citizen. And so, unless we can come to a deeper understanding of his problem, we are likely to prove unsympathetic when we find he is unable to settle down in one job, unable to continue with the family life that was his world before the war.

Most types of men can face the horrors of modern war without losing their nerves or their reason, but few men can leave their farm, their school, or their office, enter into a life which was previously beyond their conception, go out and kill men, and perhaps in the hour of trial find, that through the death of a superior they are responsible for the lives of their comrades, that upon their decision, arrived at perhaps within the space of a second, depends the life or death of others, all this they cannot endure, and remain unchanged.

Perhaps this presents a problem, which we in our ignorance, with our lack of understanding, cannot answer. Perhaps the answer can be found only by the men themselves, but if they find it, and want our help, it is to be hoped that we shall have understanding enough to lend a sympathetic ear.

SUMATRA—LAND OF MYSTERY.

(*By Murray Oulton*).

Dense primeval forests, deep jungle rivers, savage wild animals, 160,000 square miles of little-known and undeveloped territory—that is Sumatra which has now received a visit from India-based Super-Fortresses. Murray Oulton, in the article below, describes the natural features and mineral wealth of this mystery island.

Sumatra is one of the world's half-dozen greatest islands, but at the same time its 160,000 square miles is one of the least known territories on earth. It is literally one of the world's mystery lands.

There are endless stretches of primeval forests and huge mountains never yet trodden by man. There is something sombre and tremendous about the dark mysteries of Sumatra's savage depths. So enormous are the difficulties, however, that no explorer could hope to escape with his life, unless a costly expedition could be undertaken.

So dense are the forests—which contain many splendid species of trees and enormous wealth in timber—that it is said an ape could cross the island by swinging from branch to branch. Monkeys of all sorts abound, and the people have trained the powerful pigtail ape to gather cocoanuts for them.

Within its jungles roam the elephant, bear and tiger; crocodiles, pythons, and cobras, and other reptiles swarm; and during the day hosts of birds enliven the country, while at night gigantic bats explore the forests in dizzying swoops and bewildering curves.

Sumatra is over three times the size of Java, and 13 times the size of the mother-country, Holland, but its population is a mere handful of about six millions. Java, as a contrast, has 40,000,000 people, and agriculture is intensively practised. If its potential riches were exploited, and its fertile soil put under cultivation, it is reckoned that Sumatra could support a population of between 60 and 70 millions.

Down its length of 1,100 miles runs a mighty mountain chain, some of the peaks rising to 12,000 feet. In the ranges are a dozen steaming volcanoes, and many enormous mirror-like lakes in the craters of extinct ones.

The western slopes descend rapidly to the sea, so that the rivers there are of small importance. The eastern declivities, as a contrast, look out over silvery plains crossed by partly navigable rivers of rare beauty. Some of these waterways are hundreds of miles long, and can be used by craft drawing up to 10 feet.

The mineral wealth of the island is known to be on a huge scale. This, too, awaits scientific exploitation, although in recent year's oil-production has increased. There are valuable coal deposits, and besides such minerals as copper, tin, and iron, there are the precious metals, gold and silver. In a word, Sumatra has everything to make it one of the richest lands on earth.

Up to the present, there are only about a thousand miles of railway in the island, and this and lack of roads are severe handicaps to development. The population of the largest towns is about 50,000.

As long ago as the seventh century, Hindu immigrants had established a kingdom, and ancient inscriptions on stones speak of it as "the first Java". Marco Polo visited it six and a half centuries ago, then came the Portuguese, who were later driven out by the Dutch. There are various tribes of Malay stock, and many are little more than savages.

Sumatra is of immense strategic value. The capture of bases on the island would be of incalculable value to any Allied offensive in the East Indies. The island is of such immense size, and so poorly equipped with communications, that the Japanese probably only have isolated garrisons there.

GALLANTRY AWARDS TO PIGEONS.

PRESENTATION CEREMONY IN LONDON.

(From the Manchester Guardian).

Awards for gallantry are to be made this month to a couple of "invasion" pigeons: "Gustav", who delivered the first D-Day message from a ship off the Normandy beachheads, and "Paddy" for the best recorded time with a message from Normandy.

The birds receive the "Dickin medal for gallantry" at the Founder's Day party of the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals of the Poor, which has a club for animals on war service. Official mascots may be enrolled and so may carrier-pigeons and guard-dogs.

The Club has 700 members, five of whom have awards. Mrs. A. V. Alexander will be at the presentation and it should be a distinguished occasion, a bit puzzling to the pigeons.

DO YOU KNOW?

1. What aid did Britain give the U. S. S. R. from 1941 to 1943?

2. In Italy at the end of July the British Eighth Army crossed the A—— River after capturing A——, while Polish troops on the east captured A——, on the A—— Sea. Fill in the blanks.

3. Russian troops travelled 230 miles in the first 20 days of their summer offensive against Germany. Is this rate (half, almost the same, or twice) the speed of the German armies during the first 20 days of their 1941 invasion of Russia?

4. The Allies recently revealed the presence in Europe of the First Special Service Force, an American-Canadian outfit trained to fight anywhere, anytime. The Germans call them "Black Devils". In the World War I, the Germans suffered at the hands of both "Blue Devils" and "Devil Dogs". What were they?

5. American officers are again wearing Sam Browne belts. Who was Sam Browne—(*a*) the original Uncle Sam; (*b*) a Confederate cavalryman; (*c*) a British army officer?

ANSWERS.

1. 6,778 aircraft, 5,031 tanks, 4,620 vehicles, 32,000 tons of aluminium, 37,000 tons of copper, 81,423 tons of rubber, besides food-stuffs, machine tools, guns, tin, jute and other war materials.

2. Arno, Arezzo, Ancona, Adriatic.

3. Almost the same. After 20 days the Germans had advanced about 280 miles at their deepest point of penetration.

4. Blue Devils—the French Chasseurs Alpins; Devil Dogs—American Marines.

5. (*c*) Gen. Sir Samuel James Browne (1824-1901) of the British Army.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.

(VOCATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY).

(14) EDUCATION—*CONT.*

Speakers:—Mr. Wickham Steed (Chairman).
Sir Richard Livingstone.
Mr. John Sargent.

(*Broadcast in the B. B. C.'s Eastern Service, on October 30, 1944*).

Steed: To-day we're going to deal with education beyond the primary stage. We shall be getting much nearer to life itself than we were in primary education. Now, Sir Richard Livingstone, how would you look at higher education in general?

Livingstone: I think that you want to give higher education to two types of people–first, the people who go into the professions, and who become doctors, scientists and so on–and no country wants more than a certain number of these. For this comparatively small class you must provide the best University education you can. But, you must provide something else for those others who are capable of any kind of higher education.

Steed: Have you, Sargent, any idea of what this 'something else' might be, or is this 'something else' already in existence?

Sargent: Well, the beginnings of this 'something else' are already taking place, owing to developments arising out of the war which have compelled us to give attention to it.

Steed: But isn't there something intermediate between the primary schools and the Universities?

Sargent: In India you have the primary school, which ends about the age of 11. Then there are middle schools. Then there are high schools. After that, of course, there are intermediate colleges and Universities. There are also a certain number of technical institutions.

Steed: Does that cover at all what you have in mind, Livingstone?

Livingstone: I should also like people to have a chance of adult education after they've had some time to think about things—I mean when they've lived in the world for a time. And by adult education, I mean any education you have in later life—after you've left school or University.

Steed: By the way, what lauguage is used for University education in India?

Sargent: English in all Universities except one—that's the University of Hyderabad, where they use Urdu.

Steed: So you're giving higher education to a large number of Indians in a language not their own language—not the language they habitually use in daily conversation. Doesn't this make it much more difficult for the students?

Sargent: In my opinion, you can hardly over-estimate the handicap from which the Indian student suffers in being taught in a foreign language. This question has been considered on many occasions by educational authorities in India, and the Central Advisory Board has discussed it two or three times in the last five years, and we have come to the conclusion that at the present moment there is no feasible alternative to English for education at the University stage.

Steed: Then in what way do you consider education in India could be improved?

Sargent: So far as higher education is concerned, the first thing is a more careful selection of the candidates for admission. At the moment, there is very little selection for admission to the high schools or Universities, apart from a very easy matriculation. Admission largely depends upon the ability of the candidate to pay the fees. Education is so thinly spread that there must be masses of Indians who possess first-rate intelligence but never come to the surface at all. The second essential is to relate the activities of the higher or selective stage of education to the needs of the community. That will mean, of course, making a lot of education much more practical both in relation to the needs of agriculture, which is fundamental again, and to the needs of that industrial development which we can see coming.

Steed: Generally speaking, our University education in England deals with people or with undergraduates who look forward to a certain amount of leisure in life. Is there in India any considerable leisured class?

Sargent: I should say considerably less than here. But then, of course, it's often said in this country that with the coming up of poorer boys and girls to the Universities that aspect of leisure is departing, and the rush to get a degree as quickly as possible is becoming apparent.

Livingstone: I agree. I think what Steed suggested would be more applicable to England 20 years ago than now. That brings me back to my views on adult education. I think you can get that leisure in later life. If, after you've settled down in your job, you can extricate yourself from it for three or six months, and have an opportunity for study, then you'll do it with much more disinterestedness than you can when you are working in a University course, which is going to determine your future by your success or failure in an examination.

Steed: That sort of adult education does exist in Scandinavian countries, doesn't it?

Livingstone: Yes: in all the Scandinavian countries now there is a fully developed system of residential adult education. Denmark and Sweden each have sixty of these colleges. The system differs in the two countries, but the surprising thing in Denmark is that you get small holders, farmers, domestic servants, going to these residential colleges for courses which last for three to five months after the age of eighteen. The studies there are non-vocational—the basis of them is really history and literature. It's extraordinary to our ideas that labourers and domestic servants should study subjects like these, but they do in Denmark. In Sweden, though it's rather different, it's on the same lines.

Sargent: That's a long way in advance of anything we're likely to have in India for some time to come. The trouble is that adult education has hitherto meant to the average Indian, and to most of us in India, mere literacy.

Steed: Now, Livingstone, can you suggest changes in the existing system which would, in the course of time, produce better results than are produced by the existing system?

Livingstone: Well, I'd like to put this point to Sargent. Couldn't you have adult education for people on all levels in the villages, teaching them hygiene, a certain amount of agriculture—in fact, all the things people need in later life. Bring in some of their national poetry and literature. What I feel is wrong with our whole civilisation is that people leave school at 18, or the University at 22, and then are expected to go through life with the knowledge and opinions they have gathered up to that age. I think they ought to have the chance at intervals throughout their lives to refurbish their opinions and bring their knowledge up-to-date. After all, the world doesn't stand still. And I think all human beings want refresher courses, not only in their own jobs, but in life as a whole.

Steed: You think that Indian Universities should be a preparation for a real adult education which should continue, say, right up to middle age and even beyond?

Livingstone: Yes. I think Indian Universities ought to have extramural departments—carrying out teaching of different kinds at different levels.

Steed: Something like the University extensions?

Livingstone: Exactly.

Sargent: Well, of course, I entirely agree. It's true that at the moment there are University extension lectures in India, but they're intended mainly for University students. We're a very long way from an approach to the ideal which Livingstone has put forward, and I must point out that hitherto, partly owing to poverty and partly owing to the urgency of the problem, adult education in India has been limited to trying to make literate the 85 per cent of the population who are illiterate. In my opinion it's very largely failed because there's been no provision for the person who is being made literate to enlarge his knowledge. We are a long way away from the idea that men or women ought to go on all through life enriching their personality and refreshing their outlook.

Steed: Well now, Livingstone, will you tell us how you look upon this whole complex business of arranging or rearranging adult education, so as to get the best results in the long run.

Livingstone: I would like everybody after they have been in life to get opportunities to think about their job and about life, too. Then I think you will get some sort of culture spread right through the nation; otherwise, there's a real danger that you

might have a highly educated class at the top, and the rest of the people very much divorced from it.

Steed: How can it be done? Haven't we had something like that in England?

Livingstone: Well, I suppose it must depend upon each country. I believe the residential system is much the best. In that way you get people away from their work, living in some college, giving all their time to study, mixing and discussing with each other.

Sargent: That might be done in a town, but what about the villages where most people in India live?

Livingstone: I suppose instead of bringing people from the village to the college, you've got to go down and talk to them. What I feel certain of is that people need to be educated after they've been in life more than they do before. If you lecture to a person, say, on hygiene while he's still at school, you'll almost certainly bore him, and he'll probably forget most of what you teach him: but if you lecture to him on hygiene when he is living in an unhygienic village, then I think he will be interested. And so with everything. I feel myself that we lay much too much stress on the years before 20, and much too little on the years after. And as a result you get people intellectually stuck, so to speak, because they don't get the opportunity of thinking after they leave school or University. The need seems to me to be so great that I believe, if people only realized it, they would devise the means of meeting it.

Steed: But wouldn't you need some gradation of your adult education, so that it responded as nearly as possible to the needs of the locality?

Livingstone: Yes. I think one has to contemplate adult education under two heads. There's the residential side—which is much the most effective, because people can give the whole of their time to the job; and then there's the non-residential side, which people can take in their spare hours. For the towns people, I think it's better to get them out into a college—and certainly it is more practicable.

Steed: For the residential colleges, surely, it would mean a certain amount of financial independence. Would you say this plan is practicable for India, Sargent?

Sargent: Well, it depends entirely on the possibility of providing the vast sum of money which education as a whole will require—and this can only be a part of the whole bill. The enormous extent of the problem can be seen when I say that there are something like 90,000,000 at the moment between the ages of 10 and 40 who will have to be made merely literate in a period of 25 years. That is just literate and nothing more. Apart from that we contemplate the provision of adult education at higher stages, into which the literacy campaign will eventually and gradually telescope.

Steed: How would you begin?

Sargent: We shall have to concentrate at the beginning on making people just literate; but as they become literate then education will begin in the higher stages. But this is an enormous problem, and there is very little money at the moment for the provision of residential institutions to the extent which would even touch the whole problem. To do that would mean a formidable addition to the cost, which is already so formidable that it is inclining people to think that you can't do anything about education in India.

Steed: Isn't craftmanship in itself a form of literacy? It ennobles and developes the mind. If your provision of adult education could include crafts it might be more attractive than being just literate.

Livingstone: I entirely agree. I think adult education should cover any subject. It should embrace anything which can make it possible for people to live their lives with more interest and intelligence and pleasure. Craftsmanship, literature, drama, music—anything, in fact, that happens to be natural to the people, and of interest to them at the same time, is bound to have an influence in the right direction. I think the whole secret is to give them something in which they can take a natural interest.

Steed: You would make the thing so attractive that they would want to learn—would in fact, be willing to sacrifice something to be able to learn.

Livingstone: Yes, I would.

Steed: Wouldn't you have to adjust your education to suit the various villages?

Livingstone: Oh yes, of course. It would have to be on all sorts of different levels.

Sargent: I'm glad Livingstone has raised the point of not making adult education entirely academic but as largely as possible craft activity, because there you have attractiveness. And I do think that one of the most attractive things, and one of the most necessary things, is to make the peasant at any rate realise that by attending these classes he may improve his economic position.

Steed: Now, talking of economics, what is the effect of scholarships for poorer boys and girls upon the quality of University output in this country? Has it tended to bring into the active and constructive intellectual world a richer vein of talent than would be tapped merely by the people who can do without scholarships?

Livingstone: I think it has, though I must say the thing which I feel most strongly is how rare first-rate intellectual ability is. Still, you get boys coming now from elementary schools who do extraordinary well. We have undoubtedly tapped a reservoir which was not tapped before.

Steed: What about women?

Livingstone: It's quite arguable that the higher education of women is more important than the higher education of men, because if you have an uneducated mother, well, the child loses. But if you have an intelligent, educated mother, from the very beginning children start on the right lines.

Steed: A mother will always want her child to get on.

Sargent: We have emphasised that in almost exactly those words. It's more important in tackling the problem of India to see that the mothers are educated more than the fathers.

Steed: And against that we have the tendency of a good many Indian women to look upon their boys as needing education and their daughters not.

Livingstone: Sometimes men are afraid of intelligent women.

Sargent: But not generally in India.

Livingstone: I think the English husband sometimes likes just to have a domestic, competent wife, who won't tax his brain too much, and won't obviously be intellectually his superior—or even his equal.

Steed: I shouldn't regard that as an objection to giving higher education to women.

Livingstone: No.

Steed: Would you, Livingstone, be in favour of introducing your system of edcation at once or waiting until funds are available?

Sargent: It would never do to wait for the money.

Livingstone: I entirely agree. I am absolutely convinced that you get much higher interest returns from adult education than from any kind.

Steed: Does your scheme of education, Sargent, provide for this ?

Sargent: Oh yes! During the first 25 years we propose to extinguish illiteracy in all people from 10 to 40. I explained a minute ago that our scheme provides for both the extension of literacy and then for something more. Our whole plan protests against the teaching of the people to make them merely literate in a very narrow sense. A literacy campaign is no good unless it provides something to induce people to carry on after they have become literate. We follow in Livingstone's footsteps, except with regard to this other extremely desirable development of providing residential colleges to which people may go back and refresh their general standard of education. This is far in advance of the problem we have to tackle immediately.

Livingstone: Perhaps you could do it for the people who have already had a higher education, and are sufficiently well off to pay some proportion of the cost, and their influence no doubt would be important in this country, though they might be only a small minority.

Sargent: Oh yes! I think we could include provision for that.

Steed: So, though primary education is important because it makes people literate, adult education—that is to say, education right up to middle life—is far more important in the sense of enriching the life of the community now and in a calculable future.

Livingstone: I should say—yes.

Steed: Because the abiding welfare of the Indian community as a whole, whatever the local difficulties may be, remains the main object.

Sargent: I take it that Livingstone has primarily in mind the welfare of the person who will not go near a University at all ?

Livingstone: Yes, but I think the other people are very important too.

Sargent: There is another point about Indian Universities, and that is the lack of contact between teachers and students—that's where Indian Universities fall so short. Whenever I go into a University class in India, I always call the teacher's attention to some boy in the third row, and ask his name or where he comes from, and I've hardly ever met a lecturer who could give me the answer. The idea of a student doing what I used to do—have intimate talks with his tutor—is unknown. I should never have got a degree in India, because of the curious requirement that you must attend a very high percentage of the lectures.

Livingstone: The private hours with the personal relationship they bring about are almost the most important thing in Oxford and Cambridge. They have the advantage that a younger man comes into touch with an older man with his wide experience. And of course, the older man gains, too. Living with the young is a pleasant feature of the tutor's life.

Sargent: This has further implications in India. Looking back to one's own University days, I remember that if the Proctor or the Vice-Chancellor or some University authority issued an order, the tendency of the undergraduate was to disobey it. But if one's tutor had said: "Don't you think you're being rather a fool; you've been in trouble twice this week", we should have paid a good deal of attention to him. A fulmination from the authorities would have had no effect whatsoever. They haven't that personal touch in the Universities in India; there's no one there to say in a personal and friendly way: "Aren't you being rather an ass?"

Steed: So we all agree that there should be more personal contact between the professors and the students; that there should be a reduction in the number of students each professor has to teach, and that, as regards the improvement of higher education in India a start should be made, without bothering too much about cost. In other words: Where there's the will, the way is likely to be found.

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